of childhood, but in later life. If a woman is returned for some reason to her parental home, it is as much a reflection on her brothers as on herself. 593 577 554

In all of the situations outlined thus far there has been no question of the veil, except for a maternal uncle and a husband of a paternal aunt who are not permitted to associate freely with all of the women of the house unless they happen to be close friends of its master. The veil enters in between cousins of marriageable age, and the striking difference between a married man and a bachelor is encountered for the first time. When a young man reaches what is considered adulthood, about fifteen or sixteen years, women of other houses begin to conceal their faces from him. If, for example, he visited the house of his father's brother, the latter's wife might appear unveiled to him, but the adult, unmarried daughters of the house would be at least shy and retiring in his presence, usually fleeing at his approach (not, however, losing the opportunity to observe the potential bridegroom from hiding). When he is married, the whole situation changes and he is free to mingle with them unveiled, even alone together in a room. There are, of course, none of these restrictions among male cousins and among female cousins. Two youths who are cousins greet each other by shaking hands or kissing each other on the cheek. It is said that a young man could greet the daughter of his paternal uncle by kissing her on the arm or shoulder, but [584] 291 882 574 602 835 605

it seems likely that this is only permissable after the two have been engaged to be married. 605 584

The relations between husband and wife are highly variable, depending greatly on the personalities involved. 593 [183] In masculine theory, a wife should be submissive, obeying her husband's wishes as though they were commands and observing the same type of demeanor exhibited to her father. The husband is able to punish her, perhaps by beating, as he might his own child. Reality, however, is otherwise, for there are wives who fulfill this ideal and others who do not, and there appears to be little correspondence to social status in situations in which the wife achieves a dominant position over her husband. The status of a bride within the family is greatly strengthened by the birth of her first son, and she may thereafter command much greater attention and respect from her husband and relatives by marriage. She may be tyrannized by her mother-in-law until this event takes place. Similarly, separations or divorces are less frequent after the birth of a male heir. The wife is the mistress of her household and receives money from the husband for its maintenance. As the recipient of the dowry and an heir of her parents, she enjoys a certain amount of potential independence. Beyond these remarks it is difficult to go further. A number of marriages were described in which the women quickly assumed almost dictatorial powers over their husbands and their households. A daughter of the aristocracy, by virtue of her father's rank, appears to be much less liable to [851] [606] [586] [592]

3: Barth E-5 (1951) 1954 MA11 Kurd MA11

No religious or ritual 571
mechanism exists for bringing together any group larger than the village, and no symbiotic relations of a practical or ritual nature have been developed.

This organizational form is associated with a strong emphasis on the father's 582
brother's daughter as preferred spouse, and marked tendency to close family endogamy. The strength of emphasis is indicated by (1) expressed norms, (2) relative brideprice, and (3) actual statistical occurrence.

(1) Informants agree that paternal cousins have first rights to a girl, and 582
where the father of a girl contemplates giving her in marriage to anyone else, the 604
paternal cousin must first release her by renouncing his claim. Cases of violence 605
resulting from breach of this obligation on the part of the father were collected in the field and have been recorded by others in the literature.[1] Giving one's daughter to a brother's son is further considered thoughtful and proper: the father knows his daughter's spouse well, and will also be able to exert some control over his actions toward her after marriage; marriage should be between equals, and no one is closer in status and sentiments than a paternal cousin. Small children are pleasantly embarrassed when teased for being "in love" with their paternal cousin. The importance of endogamy in maintaining family property is also 582
recognized, though the problem only arises with any degree of gravity where Ko-ranic laws of inheritance, giving stipulated fractions of the estate to female descendants, are strictly followed, and this does not generally seem to be the case. Ko-428

(2) It is an agreed privilege for paternal cousins, to less extent also other near 605
kin, to receive the girl at a reduced brideprice. The normal brideprice for village 583
girls ranges between 430-100. Paternal cousins generally pay only wedding expenses.

(3) The actual frequency of father's brother's daughter, and other cousin, 162
marriage is high, apparently ranging around fifty percent. The degree of relationship between all living spouses in two normal sized Hamawand villages fall into the following categories:

Fa and Mo						
FaBrDa (amoxa)	MoBrDa (khaloxa)	SiDa (pura)	Other relative	Unrelated, in village	Other village	Total
9	1	2	3	2	4	21

Taking the normal fluctuations in size and sex distribution of sibling groups into account, this probably approximates the maximal frequency that marriage with actual, non-classificatory paternal cousin can reasonably attain.

[1] E.g. W. R. Hay, *Two Years in Kurdistan* (London, 1921), p. 71.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

substituted that will provide that deep contentment of soul, the harmony of mind, that I came across in the village women who could neither read nor write?

The boys, even as small as 6–7 years of age, led in Sulaimani what we should call a street life. Playgrounds were unknown, corresponding to the fact that the attitude there was not that childhood should be passed in play. To give street life its due, it must be remembered that the men, so to say, live in the street, whilst the women and small children occupy the home. At work and at leisure boys and men spent their time outside the home. In consequence the boys obtained a street education among men, and we must return to ancient Greece to discover a parallel[79] showing the positive and negative aspects of this form of education.

The Coran, Sure 4, verse 1, says: "Be careful of your duty towards Allah ..., and towards the wombs (that bore you)". This command is honoured to a high degree on the part of a son. To illustrate the intimate relations between mother and son, I once saw a young Kurd climbing up the steep hill to the small hospital at the Dokan Dam Site with his sick mother on his back, apparently a more comfortable mode of transport for her than a donkey or a mule[80].

MARRIAGE

The limitations in the choice of spouse are found in the Coran[81]. A man cannot marry his own mother (or other of this father's wives), his daughter or granddaughter, his mother's sister, his father's sister, his sister, his brother's daughter, his mother-in-law or step-daughter. But, in addition, a non-marriageable relationship exists not only between blood relations and intermarried persons but also in respect of milk kinship, which is put on a par with blood relationship. As the law at the same time recommends that a spouse be sought within the family, marriage possibilities are cousins and second cousins, that is the descendants of uncles, aunts, grand uncles and grand aunts[82]. Of these marriage possibilities the cousin on the father's side is preferable and then the cousin on the mother's side. The terms in the Kurdish kinship system, purely descriptive indicating the genealogical distance between close relations[83], are: father's brother's daughter, *amzâd*, (ortho-cousin marriage); father's sister's daughter, *pûrzâd*, (cross-cousin marriage); mother's brother's daughter, *xâlîzâd*, (cross-cousin marriage), and mother's sister's daughter, *pûrzâd*, (ortho-cousin marriage).

In the homes I stayed in I met in the village upper class the father's brother's daughter wedding which, according to Leach[84] and Barth[85] is that preferred by Kurds. In the sheikh family at Topzawa the wife was the daughter of the father's brother in Sargalu. In Serkan two of the sheikh's three married sons were married to two sisters, both daughters of the father's brother. According to Leach the marriages of village leaders "tend to form political alliances" like the "Royal marriages of medieval Europe"[86]. In my experience this was not so, for the cases I met were the father's brother's daughter choice so common in Islam areas.

It was stated that two families could exchange daughters. Both my interpreter and Sheikh Taifûr's brother said that if the desired bride had an elder brother, a bride for him is demanded from the bridegroom's family. When asked, the 18 year old son of the Sheikh of Topzawa said further that a man in his milieu was able to marry anyone he wished. However, I do not think that too much faith